

Message Text

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ACTION EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PA-01 /014 W
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P 111023Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY MANILA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8276

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E.O.11652: NA
TAGS: RP, PEPR
SUBJECT: US-PHILIPPINES RELATIONS: AMBASSADOR'S SPEECH
- TO ROTARY CLUB ON JULY 13

1. THERE FOLLOWS TEXT OF SPEECH WHICH, SUBJECT TO
DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTIONS/OBJECTIONS, AMBASSADOR PLANS
TO DELIVER AT MANILA ROTARY CLUB LUNCHEON ON JULY 13. IF
CHANGES DESIRED, PLEASE SEEK TO HAVE THEM REACH US BY OPEN-
ING OF BUSINESS (8:00 A.M.) ON JULY 13 (MANILA TIME).

2. TEXT AS FOLLOWS:

I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE ON THIS OCCASION --
AS I BEGIN WHAT I TRUST AND HOPE WILL BE A LONG PERIOD
OF SERVICE IN YOUR COUNTRY -- TO SHARE WITH YOU MY THREE
BASIC PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE STATE AND NATURE OF THE RE-
LATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

PUT VERY BRIEFLY AND SUCCINCTLY, I SEE OUR RELATIONSHIP
AS FIRST FUNDAMENTALLY SOUND AND HEALTHY -- SECOND, I
CONSIDER THOSE STRAINS WE WITNESS TO BE NATURAL IN A
RELATIONSHIP OF SUCH COMPLEXITY -- AND THIRD, I BELIEVE
OUR PEOPLES AND LEADERS WANT THIS RELATIONSHIP TO ENDURE
AND RECOGNIZE THAT IF IT IS TO ENDURE, WE MUST BOTH BE
ALERT TO AND WELCOME THE NEED FOR CHANGE. LET ME NOW
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EXPAND ON EACH OF THESE THREE POINTS.

FIRST: OUR RELATIONSHIP IS FUNDAMENTALLY SOUND AND
HEALTHY. OUR COLONIAL TIES, WHILE NOT LENGTHY IN HIS-
TORICAL TERMS AND NOT WITHOUT FAULTS AND ERRORS, LEFT A
BODY OF IDEALS, EXPERIENCES AND MEMORIES SHARED AND
HIGHLY VALUED ON BOTH SIDES. THEY INVOLVED, MOREOVER,

AN ELEMENT RARELY FOUND IN A COLONIAL RELATIONSHIP --
THE CO-MINGLING OF BLOOD IN COMMON CAUSE, THE CELEBRATION,
TO USE THE WORDS OF PRESIDENT MARCOS, OF "A BLOOD
COMPACT BETWEEN AMERICANS AND FILIPINOS," A COMPACT THAT
CANNOT BE DISSOLVED EVEN BY DEATH. EVEN THOSE AMERICANS
WHO FOUGHT IN OTHER THEATERS DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR,
AND THOSE WHO ARE TOO YOUNG TO HAVE BEEN IN THAT WAR,
KNOW OF THE COURAGE OF THE PHILIPPINE SOLDIERS AND
REMEMBER THE SACRIFICES ENDURED BY THE PHILIPPINE PEOPLE.
THIS AWARENESS HAS SURVIVED THE PASSAGE OF TIME. IT HAS
LEFT AN INTANGIBLE BOND OF RESPECT AND FELLOWSHIP OF
GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THOSE OF US CONCERNED WITH STRENGTHEN-
ING OUR OVERALL RELATIONSHIP IN THIS NEW GENERATION.
OUR TIES SINCE PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE -- AGAIN, NOT
WITHOUT MISTAKES, AND SOME UNFORTUNATE HANGOVERS FROM
THE COLONIAL PERIOD -- HAVE BEEN AND REMAIN TODAY WITHOUT
FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES, WITHOUT SERIOUS DISAGREEMENTS,
WITHOUT TERRITORIAL DISPUTES OR OTHER BASIC CONFLICTS OF
NATIONAL INTEREST. INDEED, OUR TIES SINCE 1946 HAVE BEEN
STRENGTHENED BY MANY INSTANCES OF SHARED INTERNATIONAL
CONCERNS DURING THE PERIOD WHEN INTERNATIONAL
POWER WAS UNNATURALLY CONCENTRATED IN TWO CAMPS.

SECOND: OUR RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN AND WILL REMAIN A
COMPLEX, MANY-SIDED ONE -- WITH MANY FACETS INVOLVING
UNAVOIDABLE STRAINS OR TENSIONS.
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ONE FACET REFLECTS THE UNHAPPY LEGACIES OF COLONIAL TIES.
I REFER TO:

-- DIFFERING EVALUATIONS OF THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE, WITH
- ONE SIDE TENDING TO FOCUS ON WHAT WAS "TAKEN" WHILE
- THE OTHER FOCUSES ON WHAT WAS "GIVEN" (HERE, I HAVE
- TO SAY THAT THE "GIVE AND TAKE" TODAY BETWEEN OUR
- TWO GOVERNMENTS IS BASED ON A HARD HEADED PERCEPTION
- OF OUR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES' INTERESTS AND THE MUTUAL
- BENEFITS TO BE DERIVED FROM NEGOTIATED AGREEMENTS.
- I CAN TELL YOU THAT THE APPROACH OF THE PHILIPPINE
- NEGOTIATORS TO ISSUES OF TRADE, TEXTILES OR CIVIL
- AVIATION, FOR EXAMPLE, IS AS TENACIOUS AND COMPETENT
- AS ANY I HAVE SEEN IN MY CAREER.)

-- RESENTMENT THAT THE COLONIAL RELATIONSHIP EVER
- EXISTED AND THAT IT HELPED PERPETUATE THE DEVELOPMENT

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- OF THE PHILIPPINES IN ISOLATION FROM THE REST OF
- ASIA;

-- ANGER THAT THE COLONIAL POWER, PARTICULARLY IN ECON-
- OMIC MATTERS, GAVE PRIMACY TO ITS OWN INTERESTS;

-- SENSITIVITY TO ANY VESTIGE OF THE COLONIAL MENTALITY;

-- TIES OF SENTIMENT ALMOST FAMILIAL IN INTENSITY WHICH,
- IN THE WORDS OF JOSE RIZAL, MEAN THAT "A FRIEND'S
- SCRATCHES HURT MORE THAN WOUNDS FROM THE ENEMY."

ANOTHER FACET OF OUR RELATIONSHIP INVOLVES THE PRESENCE
ON PHILIPPINE SOIL OF AMERICAN SERVICE PERSONNEL --
CURRENTLY ABOUT 15,000 IN NUMBER. WHILE THEIR PRESENCE
HAS BEEN AND REMAINS IN THE SERVICE OF BROAD OBJECTIVES
MUTUALLY SHARED BY THE LEADERSHIP OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES,
IT HAS INEVITABLY INVOLVED STRAINS AND TENSIONS SINCE
MOST COME TO THE PHILIPPINES WITHOUT MUCH PRIOR EXPOSURE
TO THE NORMS, MORES AND SENSITIVITIES OF PHILIPPINE
SOCIETY JUST AS SOME FILIPINOS TAKE UP RESIDENCE IN THE
US WITHOUT THE BENEFIT OF FULL FAMILIARITY WITH AMERICAN
WAYS, INSTITUTIONS AND CUSTOMS. THE RESULT, IN BOTH
CASES, CAN BE AND IS UNINTENDED AFFRONTES OR MUTUAL
MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

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STILL ANOTHER FACET OF OUR RELATIONSHIP INVOLVES THE
DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS AND SOMETIMES THE DIFFERING IN-
TERESTS OF DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES -- DIF-

FERENCES WHICH INJECT INTO OUR RELATIONSHIP MANY OF THE SAME PROBLEMS AND POINTS OF CONTENTION WE ENCOUNTER IN OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE THIRD WORLD.

AND THERE IS ONE MORE SIDE TO OUR RELATIONSHIP -- AN IMPORTANT SIDE -- I WOULD MENTION TODAY. AS YOU KNOW WE IN THE U.S. HAVE BEEN GIVING RENEWED EMPHASIS IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY TO THE UNIVERSAL APPLICABILITY OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS -- WHICH RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS WE ARE THE FIRST TO ADMIT NEED TO BE ESTABLISHED ON A WIDER AND MORE SECURE BASIS IN OUR OWN COUNTRY. OUR PARTICULAR FOCUS, GROWING OUT OF OUR OWN NATIONAL EXPERIENCE, HAS BEEN ON INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS: THE INTEGRITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL, AND HIS PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS -- WHICH WE SEE AS NO LESS IMPORTANT TO MAN'S FULL DEVELOPMENT AS HIS RIGHT TO SATISFACTION OF BASIC HUMAN NEEDS. THIS EMPHASIS IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY FLOWS FROM DEEP CONVICTIONS AND IS NOT ABOUT TO DISAPPEAR. IT HAS COME AT THE TIME OF A TEMPORARY EXPERIMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES WITH MARTIAL LAW, AN EXPERIMENT WHICH HAS FOCUSED ON SOCIETY AS A WHOLE RATHER THAN THE INDIVIDUAL, ON THE NEEDS OF SOCIETY FOR THE BENEFITS OF LAW, ORDER, SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT TO MEET BASIC HUMAN NEEDS.

THIS COINCIDENCE IN TIME BUT DIFFERENCE IN EMPHASIS HAS ALSO GIVEN RISE TO STRESSES IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

TO AN OUTSIDER LOOKING AT THE MANY FACETS OF OUR RELATION-
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SHIP, THE WONDER IS NOT THAT WE HAVE SOME STRAINS AND TENSIONS -- BUT THAT THEY HAVE NOT DONE MORE SERIOUS DAMAGE TO A RELATIONSHIP WHICH REMAINS FUNDAMENTALLY SOUND

THERE ARE MANY REASONS THIS IS SO BUT I AM CONVINCED THAT AN IMPORTANT REASON -- PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT -- IS THE WISDOM OF OUR PEOPLES AND LEADERS IN RECOGNIZING THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP MUST INVOLVE CHANGE AND ADJUSTMENT IF IT IS TO ENDURE.

THAT RECOGNITION, OFTEN UNDRAMATIC AND UNSPOKEN, IS FORTUNATELY PERVASIVE BETWEEN US:

IT LIES BEHIND THE REMARKABLE SUCCESS THE PHILIPPINES HAS HAD IN MOVING AWAY DRAMATICALLY FROM WHAT BOARD OF INVESTMENTS GOVERNOR CONRADO SANCHEZ CALLED RECENTLY IN HAWAII "THE COLONIAL PATTERN" IN TRADING "WHEREBY RAW MATERIALS GO ONE WAY AND FINISHED GOODS GO THE OTHER WAY". TO IL-

LUSTRATE, GOVERNOR SANCHEZ NOTED THAT SUBSTANTIAL QUANTITIES OF FABRICS USED TO BE IMPORTED FROM THE US, WHEREAS TODAY THE US SHIPS TEXTILE MACHINERY AND RAW COTTON TO EQUIP AND FEED THE PHILIPPINE TEXTILE INDUSTRY. THE GOVERNOR NOTED ALSO THAT THE SHARE OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS IN THE TOTAL PHILIPPINE EXPORTS TO THE US HAS GONE UP TO 35 PERCENT, A LEVEL HIGHER THAN THAT PREVAILING IN PHILIPPINE EXPORTS TO OTHER NATIONS. THE ONLY FOOTNOTE I CARE TO ADD TO THE GOVERNOR'S REMARKS IS THAT MY GOVERNMENT WELCOMES AND APPLAUDS THE PHILIPPINES SUCCESS IN BASING ITS TRADE MORE SOLIDLY ON THE COMPARATIVE ADVAN-

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TAGE ENJOYED BY THIS COUNTRY.

-- RECOGNITION OF THE DESIRABILITY OF CHANGE AND ADJUSTMENT ALSO LIES BEHIND THE NEW U.S.-PHILIPPINE BILATERAL TEXTILE AGREEMENT NEGOTIATED LAST MAY. THE U.S. RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE TO THE PHILIPPINES OF INCREASED ACCESS TO THE AMERICAN MARKET -- AND THE PHILIPPINES RECOGNIZED THAT UNREGULATED QUANTITIES OF ITS TEXTILE EXPORTS COULD CAUSE PROBLEMS IN THE U.S. MARKET. THE RESULT WAS A UNIQUE AGREEMENT STILL BEING REVIEWED ON BOTH SIDES -- DIFFERENT FROM THOSE REACHED WITH OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES -- WHICH WILL GRANT THE PHILIPPINES SIGNIFICANT AND IMMEDIATE INCREASED ACCESS TO THE AMERICAN TEXTILE MARKET, RETROACTIVE TO JANUARY 1 OF THIS YEAR; IN RETURN, IT WILL ASSURE THE U.S. OF GREATER STABILITY IN TEXTILE IMPORTS FROM THE PHILIPPINES OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS.

-- MUTUAL RECOGNITION OF THE NEED FOR CHANGE ALSO LIES AT THE BASIS OF THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING AMERICA'S CONTINUED ACCESS TO MILITARY FACILITIES IN THE PHILIPPINES.

THOSE NEGOTIATIONS STARTED FROM CERTAIN AGREED PRINCIPLES,
INCLUDING

-- RECOGNITION BY THE UNITED STATES OF PHILIPPINE SOVEREIGN-
TY OVER THE BASES;

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-- THE NEED TO DEFINE THE MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF
FILIPINO AND AMERICAN COMMANDERS;

-- THE NEED TO NEGOTIATE ARRANGEMENTS ASSURING EFFECTIVE
COMMAND AND CONTROL ON THE AMERICAN SIDE OVER U.S. FORCES
WITHIN THE DESIGNATED FACILITY;

-- THERE SHOULD BE A THOROUGH REVIEW OF THE AGREEMENT EVERY
FIVE YEARS.

MAY I SAY AT THIS POINT I DO NOT FIND IT SURPRISING THAT
THERE IS A LEVEL OF FRUSTRATION SURROUNDING OUR MILITARY
PRESENCE. SO MANY OF OUR PERSONNEL ARE HERE AWAY FROM
THEIR OWN HOMELAND THAT INCIDENTS AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS
ARE PREDICTABLE. WHAT HAS PLEASED ME MOST SINCE MY ARRIVAL
IS TO FIND THAT MEASURES HAVE BEEN DEvised BY OUR RESPECTIVE
AUTHORITIES TO RESOLVE INCIDENTS AND MINIMIZE MISUNDERSTAND-
INGS. IT IS MOST IMPORTANT THAT WE DO NOT LOSE SIGHT OF
THE LARGER PICTURE AND LET OUR ATTENTION BE DIVERTED TO
SUCH INCIDENTS. MY OPTIMISM ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR OUR
DEVISING A NEW ARRANGEMENT GOVERNING OUR FORCES AND THEIR
FACILITIES DERIVES FROM MY BELIEF THAT WE HAVE A COMMON
APPRAISAL ABOUT THE FORCES AT WORK IN THIS PART OF THE
WORLD.

OUR RECOGNITION OF THE NEED FOR CHANGE ACCOUNTS FOR OUR
ENTHUSIASTIC ACCEPTANCE AND SUPPORT OF THE GOALS OF
MILITARY SELF-RELIANCE ENUNCIATED BY PRESIDENT MARCOS.
IT ALSO EXPLAINS THE WELCOME WE HAVE EXTENDED TO THE
CONCEPT AND THE GROWTH OF ASEAN -- AS WELL AS TO THE
PHILIPPINES ROLE AS INTERLOCUTEUR BETWEEN ASEAN AND THE
U.S. WE ARE LOOKING FORWARD WITH GENUINE ANTICIPATION
TO THE ASEAN MINISTERIAL MEETING IN WASHINGTON NEXT MONTH --
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AND WITH CONFIDENCE TO THE LEADERSHIP WE KNOW FOREIGN
MINISTER ROMULO WILL EXERCISE ON THAT OCCASION.

TO SUM UP, I WOULD NOTE THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PHILIPPINES AND THE UNITED STATES DATES BACK LESS THAN A CENTURY. IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF HISTORY, IT IS A YOUNG RELATIONSHIP. IF WE CAN ON BOTH SIDES CONTINUE TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE IN THE LAST QUARTER OF THIS CENTURY, IF WE CAN CONTINUALLY ADJUST OUR RELATIONSHIP TO CONFORM TO THE REALITIES OF THE PRESENT AND NOT TO THOSE PAST PRACTICES AND ASSUMPTIONS WHICH MAY NO LONGER BE VALID, THEN I AM CERTAIN THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP WILL ENDURE AND BECOME OLD IN HISTORICAL TERMS. MURPHY

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